



THE SUMMER OF '72 AT MCGILL
AN INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL BELL
STEVE CANYON IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE
A NEW KIND OF CLASS STRUGGLE AMONG QUEBEC TEACHERS
ENGINEERING: DEVALUATION OF THE SCHOLAR
ON ROBERT BOURASSA'S EXCEDRIN HEADACHE NUMBER 72
A CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE RESIDENCES

what's what

QUEBEC-LATIN AMERICA SOLIDARITY SYMPOSIUM

A symposium on Quebec solidarity with Latin America has been organized for this coming weekend at the Université de Montréal, in the Grand Salon Community Centre at 2332 Edouard Montpetit.

Friday night, September 22nd, beginning at 7:30, there will be speeches made on Brazil and Haiti. The Saturday session will begin at 1 pm; it will include a talk on Bolivia and workshop sessions on the OAS, the CICC, and foreign investment. In the even-

ing, there will be a cultural event. Sunday, beginning at 1 pm, there will be talks on Cuba, Chile, and Quebec.

Admission is free to all sessions except the cultural evening; the latter will cost \$2 per person (\$1 for students).

MCGILL PROFESSOR IN CHINA

Professor Paul T.K. Lin, Director of McGill's Centre for East Asian Studies, re-visiting China with his wife and son were received on August 28th by Premier Chou En-Lai who was accompanied by Kuo Mo-jo, Teng



Professor Paul Lin

Ying-Chao and Liao Cheng-chih. Later in the same day he was met by Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling.

Professor Lin will be returning to McGill shortly.

FINE ART CLASSES

Painting, sketching, and live model drawing at McGill every Wednesday night from 6 to 8 pm. Bring your own materials. Contact instructor Ahmed Yar Khan at the Student Union building, room B-41.

INDIAN SONGS OF NORTH AMERICA

A new 45 rpm record featuring Indian songs from across the continent, has recently been released by Mme. Roy-Vilandre. Selections include songs from the Sioux, the Mohawks, the Cris, and the Iroquois. The record is available at P.O. Box 171, Victoria Station, Montreal 215. The artist can be contacted at 481-4472 or 845-4914.

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

Rhodes scholarships worth about £1500 a year each, are offered to two scholars from the Province of Quebec. These scholarships are tenable for two years at Oxford University, a third year being granted under certain circumstances.

Candidates must be unmarried male students between the ages of 19 and 25, and be British subjects or Canadian citizens with at least five years residence in

Canada. They must also have completed two years of university study by October 1973. Application forms may be obtained from: The Fellowships Office, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, and must be completed by October 25, 1972.

FRESHMAN WELCOME

Freshman Welcome is being held today from 11 am on, in Redpath Hall. All new students are cordially invited to attend. Administrative and faculty staff will be on hand. Student services, clubs and societies will also be represented. Refreshments will be served.

today

Freshman Welcome

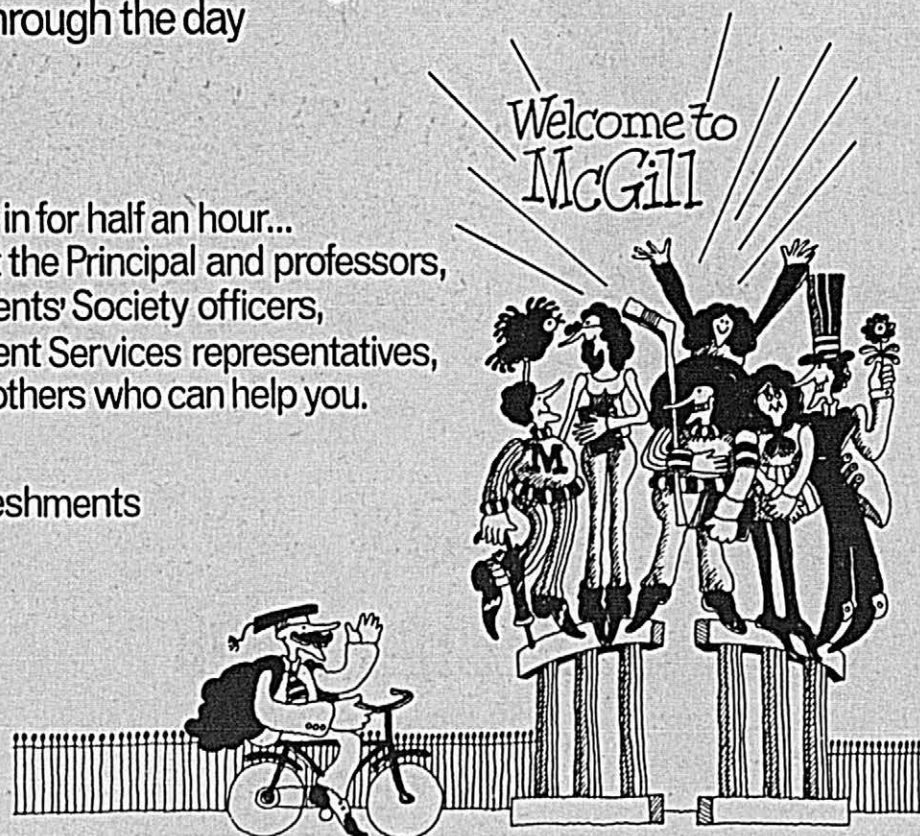
Redpath Hall

Tuesday, September 19

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by julian sher

Conference sets up Liberation School

A two-day conference held last weekend to organize Liberation School established a solid base for the new group.

The school is a political action group formed by about twenty McGill students as an alternative to McGill education. It aims to involve Anglophones in current popular movements for a new Quebec.

Over 70 people met for several hours each day in the McGill student union to discuss the structure and politics of Liberation School. A plenary session and small discussion groups on Saturday morning were followed by solidarity speeches in the afternoon and a Québécois cultural evening. Organizational meetings were held on Sunday.

In an opening speech at the plenary session, a representative from Liberation School noted that McGill students were divorced from any real understanding of the Francophone community.

"This alienation has bred, in many, fear and distrust of the French-speaking people," he said.

He also criticized the fact that knowledge and "pure" research at McGill were divorced from politics.

One conference participant criticized Liberation School supporters for their total rejection of McGill and its resources and argued that there was still hope for some university reform.

School supporters pointed out, however, that university reform "was a colossal waste of time", as proven by the failures of student movements at McGill, the French CEGEPs and American universities in the late sixties.

In a particularly animated speech, a francophone student also noted that Liberation School did not, in fact, reject McGill's resources but aimed at putting those resources and students' skills in analysis and research in

the service of Québécois workers.

The debate on reformism versus external political involvement continued during the small discussion groups that followed the plenary session. Other topics of discussion ranged from the organizational structure of the school to community media programs.

Afternoon speeches included a talk by Bernard Mergler, well-known political lawyer, and solidarity messages from various McGill clubs and outside organizations. Movies ended the first day session.

On Sunday, several hours of workshops in the six divisions set up by the school—Marxist Studies, Quebec Liberation, Women's Studies, Media, Community Education, and Corporations and Imperialism—produced a busy schedule of separate divisional meetings to take place throughout this week. These meetings will be announced in the *Daily*.



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THREE CENTS.



Bernard Mergler

daily photo by laurie breger

by linda julian

Mergler warns of repression

Bernard Mergler, a Montreal lawyer well-known for his defense of political prisoners, told a McGill audience last Saturday that there was a definite place for the Anglophone in the Quebec independence movement.

Appearing as a guest speaker at the Liberation School conference, Mergler praised the efforts of English students to get involved in Quebec politics. But he warned that the school must not become "an intellectual exercise for dilettantes" and suggested that all courses lead to action.

Mergler stressed the need for a strong organization to fight the fascism and oppression that will result from the continuing economic crises within the profit system.

"I feel that in the French-speaking leftist movement in Quebec there is lacking internal

organization," he said.

"You must integrate with them," he told his English audience. "It will not be too difficult."

Referring to the FLQ, with which he has had close contact in his legal work, Mergler said: "Most of my experience has been with frustrated independentists, who, understandably, felt forced to turn to anarchistic acts. Anarchism cannot be the answer, much as we may admire their courage."

"The young people see that there is no morality," he said.

"The only way to become a social human being is by doing something to bring about a radical change to end the horrors that even we here take for granted," Mergler declared, pointing to the 200-300 deaths that occur daily in Viet Nam.

PhDs can't find jobs

OTTAWA (CUP) About 7000 Canadian Ph.D.s produced during the next five years will have their career hopes dashed, a recently released report by the Economic Council of Canada says.

The report indicates that steadily decreasing enrolment hikes in Canadian universities have cooled the demand for new university teachers while the number of doctoral students seeking teaching jobs has not adjusted to the new reality.

Entitled "The Ph.D. Dilemma in Canada: A Case Study", the report, written by ECC economist Max von Zur-Muehlen, is part of a larger series of papers called "Canadian Higher Education in the Seventies". Originally scheduled for release in May, the

papers were not made public until late August.

In his study, von Zur-Muehlen constructs a model which shows that at the very best, little more than half the Ph.D. graduates between 1972 and 1976 who want university teaching jobs will find them.

That projection assumes that university enrolments will increase by seven per cent annually, a figure more appropriate to the 1960s than to the 1970s the economist notes.

Under the more realistic assumptions of enrolment increases of between three and five per cent "only about one-third of the Ph.D.s produced during the next five years will find employment according to their career

objectives and the traditional employment patterns."

"The approximately 7000 surplus Ph.D.s, who will be forthcoming during the next five years will have to consider alternative employment opportunities and compete with the 4000 Ph.D. graduates whose career choice had already been made for industry or government," von Zur-Muehlen says.

Prospects in the physical sciences are the worst. If enrolment grows by only three per cent, more than ten times as many Ph.D.s will be available for teaching posts than are required. An increase of seven per cent would only cut supply down to three times the demand.

In the humanities, between one-third and two-thirds of the graduating Ph.D. students who want teaching jobs will likely find them, while in the social sciences the surplus will decrease somewhat because enrolment is increasing faster than in other fields.

The study points to a possible annual surplus of about 125 to 160 Ph.D.s in chemistry, about 50 to 100 in physics and between 150 to 200 in engineering during the next few years.

There is a hopeful note for graduates in economics, psychology, and education and the biological sciences. The report says that surplus Ph.D.s in these fields could more easily be absorbed by other sectors of the economy than those in other areas.

Von Zur-Muehlen points out
continued on page 28

Students' Council meets

Students' Council finally met last Tuesday after a lapse of about six months. In the absence of President Gabor Zinner, the meeting was chaired by David Weiner the Vice-President (Internal). The following business was transacted:

●By a 6 to 1 vote, Council rescinded the motion it had passed in its March 15 meeting appointing Timothy Denton as the Editor-in-Chief of the McGill Daily. It also ratified the decision of the Open Meeting held on March 25, appointing Nesar Ahmad as the Editor-in-Chief of the *Daily*.

●By a 3 to 2 vote, Council passed a motion congratulating Arts representative Bruce Katz for his recent appointment as a member of the Board of Governors.

●Council tabled a motion from David Weiner calling for the condemnation of the Administration's action in calling police on campus. This action resulted in the injury and arrest of three McGill students September 5.

LEAN AND HUNGRY/BY GEORGE KOPP

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G. Kopp

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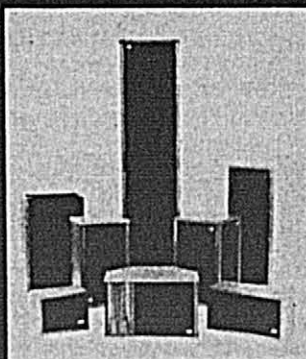
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by Sheldon Goldfarb

McGill's first summer session has come and gone, and response to it has included both praise and criticism. There were problems in several areas, and considering the way the session was run, the hardest to solve will probably be the question of course selection. But as one student said, "Well, I picked up the credits I needed, so I guess that means it was successful." Or as Students' Society External Vice-President Whitney Hardy, also a summer session student, put it, "Considering that it's the first summer, it wasn't bad." Going beyond all this, one may also question McGill's reason for instituting a summer session at this time.

The summer session director is Gordon McElroy, a professor of Education and Associate Director of the Centre for Continuing Education. The assistant director, N. Bernard Baum, has returned to school as a full-time law student and has been replaced by Jeanne Marsolais. McElroy has praised Baum as having made "an important contribution to the operation of the summer session."

In the past, summer courses were offered in some departments, but this year, a central office organized and administered the courses. This centralized administration allowed an increase in the number of courses offered, permitted students to repeat failed winter courses, and granted full credit towards degrees for the summer courses. The session was open to students from outside McGill and to high school and elementary school teachers wishing to upgrade their classifications, as well as to all levels of McGill students.

Although no exact figures are available, McElroy estimates that 2000 students attended the session, of whom 1500 took education courses. There were no full-time education students among the 1500, "because with the education program being such a tight package, it is not feasible to accelerate one's studies through summer courses; education is not as flexible as arts or science". There were, however, several people completing the B.Ed. and the Masters program entirely through the summer session and winter night courses.

The summer session employed 191 professors to teach courses; 109 were McGill staff.

The enrollment of 2000 students in summer courses led McElroy to say that it was a "great success—more successful than I had anticipated. We had planned for 2000, but sometimes I had doubts whether they would all show up." He was also pleased with the generally high marks and low failure rate.

The low failure rate also prompted faculty comments such as, "It is my sincere opinion that the summer session was successful."

All students reached by the *Daily* had passed their courses and picked up their needed credits, but many also had complaints about several aspects of the session—for instance, about its organization.

According to one student, course cards for registration were not sent out on time; in fact, in the end, most students had to pick them up. The resulting confusion meant that some people did not get registered till after courses had begun. And when the session finished, there were delays in sending the marks out. In fact, McElroy admitted that as of September 13, marks were still being processed and sent out.

McElroy agreed that "there were some problems in organization; there were regrettable delays, and I'll be the first to admit it." According to him, the problems resulted from "not having a clear idea about the volume of work involved." He added, "Work procedures were just being established this year; everyone was new; it wasn't possible to predict how fast applications could be processed; and we were short-staffed because we hadn't foreseen the demands that would be made on us."

He hopes that next year's operations will run more smoothly and believes they will because "we have plans for an augmented

staff, and we will have our work procedures better organized." He also noted that the summer session office is moving soon from its tiny office in the Administration Building to more spacious quarters in Strathcona Hall. "With more room, we won't be treading on each other's toes," he said, "and that should enhance our efficiency."

As for the delays in sending out marks, McElroy blamed the teachers' lateness in submitting the marks and the computer's being busy much of the time. "Considering the number of students," he added, "it is not really an unreasonable lapse of time."

Even more common than complaints about organization were complaints about the intensive nature of the courses, although many considered it unavoidable. Courses this year were concentrated in a six-week period between July 4 and August 11, generally with 5 two-hour classes a week. During the six weeks, the courses covered more or less the same material dealt with in regular six-month winter courses.

"One of my courses had too much material for a six-week course," said one student. "The other wasn't too bad; it was adapted more for a six-week program. But to keep up in the first one, we had to read, read, read all the time. It wasn't fair, all that work we had to do."

Whitney Hardy also described the course she took as too intensive. "When you study five countries in six weeks and have a midterm, a final, and a term paper... well, that's pretty condensed."

"It was very intensive," said another. "I studied till midnight every day. But I liked it anyway."

One faculty member said he had not really changed his teaching from his winter style. "The curriculum was basically the same, just more compressed." He cited the good marks as evidence that the students had been able to cope. He also suggested that with the students studying only one or two courses during the summer, the resulting concentration of effort may have been partly responsible for the good marks. Another reason, according to this professor, may have been the bad weather this summer, which "may have restricted extracurricular activities and caused students to devote more time to their studies."

The concentration-of-effort theory was supported by one student, who said he got more involved and learned more than in the winter, because "every day for a couple of hours, I got to live it." Another student said she too enjoyed the intensive nature of the courses. Others, however, did not note any real difference between the winter and the summer sessions in terms of how much they learned, except to note that

classes were much smaller in the summer (generally around 20 students), and thus more personal attention was available from the professors.

Whatever the merits of intensive and concentrated study, one direct result of the intensive course structure was that students were restricted to taking no more than two full courses in the session. A reduction of intensification by expanding the summer session to 12 weeks was rejected this past year on the grounds that with a number of high school and elementary school teachers as students, the session could not begin before they were free, which was not till June 30.

For 1973, however, a 12-week (May-to-August) summer session is being contemplated, despite the teachers. Courses that teachers might be interested in would then have to be scheduled differently from the others—that is, starting only in July. McElroy said that the 12-week proposal will be taken up and decided on by the summer session advisory council later this month. He added that a longer session would "presumably mean that students could take more courses, but that is really a decision for the individual faculties to make, and I can't speak for them."

Assuming that more courses could be taken, one would then think that a year or more of studies could be made up through summer courses. There are some conditions, however. As mentioned before, full-time education students cannot accelerate their studies this way, although part-time students can get their B.Ed. or masters degree in summer if they have already had basic teacher training.

As for students in arts or science, McElroy said that "it is conceivable that they could save a year, as long as their summer courses were approved by their advisers and the department concerned". But "it would probably not be possible to save much more than a year in the summer, because too few students in those faculties come to the summer session to allow us to offer the broad enough range of courses required (for more than a year's work towards a degree)."

This limitation leads us right into the question of course selection—another source of student complaint. There were, it's true, more courses offered this past summer than were available in previous years from individual departments, but that is not really saying too much. As Whitney Hardy said, "There was a much too limited selection of courses. For instance, there was only one political science course, and it was an introductory one. So the chances are that anyone in political science wanting to take a summer course would already

have taken that one."

A statement by another student pointed up the limitations of the course selection: "There was a wide enough choice for me this year; but maybe next year they'd better offer some other courses, or what will I take then?"

McElroy admitted that the course selection could be improved. "We want to gradually expand the number of courses so that we can gradually meet the needs of the majority of students." How many courses will be offered? "We have no idea yet, really. The departments have to recommend courses, and then the advisory council must approve them." McElroy added that "if students want certain courses offered, they should let the departments concerned know." Final decisions on courses will be made by October or November. Next year's course calendar will go to press in December and be available in January.

So how substantial will the expansion be? Well... as McElroy said, "The student session receives no grants of any sort. It is completely supported by student fees; that is, we pay our own way. Thus, it is hard for us to maintain courses with few students in them. In choosing courses, we must look to the market."

In other words, as in any good business, only profitable commodities will be marketed by the summer session. That is, courses that bring in the most student fees with the least expenditure on teacher salaries and other costs will be favoured—at the expense of less popular (and profitable) courses. The result of all this will be a limited, not a broad, range of courses.

At this point, one begins to wonder just what purpose the summer session is serving. If it were really meant to serve students, wouldn't McGill have put enough money into it to offer a broad range of courses, regardless of profit?

But according to McElroy, the session is meant to serve students. "The university felt it to be a good way to give students a chance to accelerate their studies, make up failed courses, etc." Registrar Colin McDougall said that the session is also a "community service."

McElroy added that the summer session was recommended by a sub-committee of the Academic Policy Committee in a report entitled "Twelve Month Operation of the University". The report gives slightly different reasoning from "community service" or "serving students" for the formation of the summer session. It says that the aim is to prove that McGill is not idle during the summer: "We must demonstrate that we really do run a twelve-month university."

Demonstrate to whom? "The public," according to the report. But McElroy and McDougall were a little more specific. "I think all universities were urged by the government to use their facilities more efficiently," said McElroy. "Of course, there was no direct order from Quebec as far as I know, although some government official may have suggested it."

"The government did not say anything directly about this," said McDougall, "but various government bodies and officials, such as the Conseil des Universités, have encouraged this sort of thing."

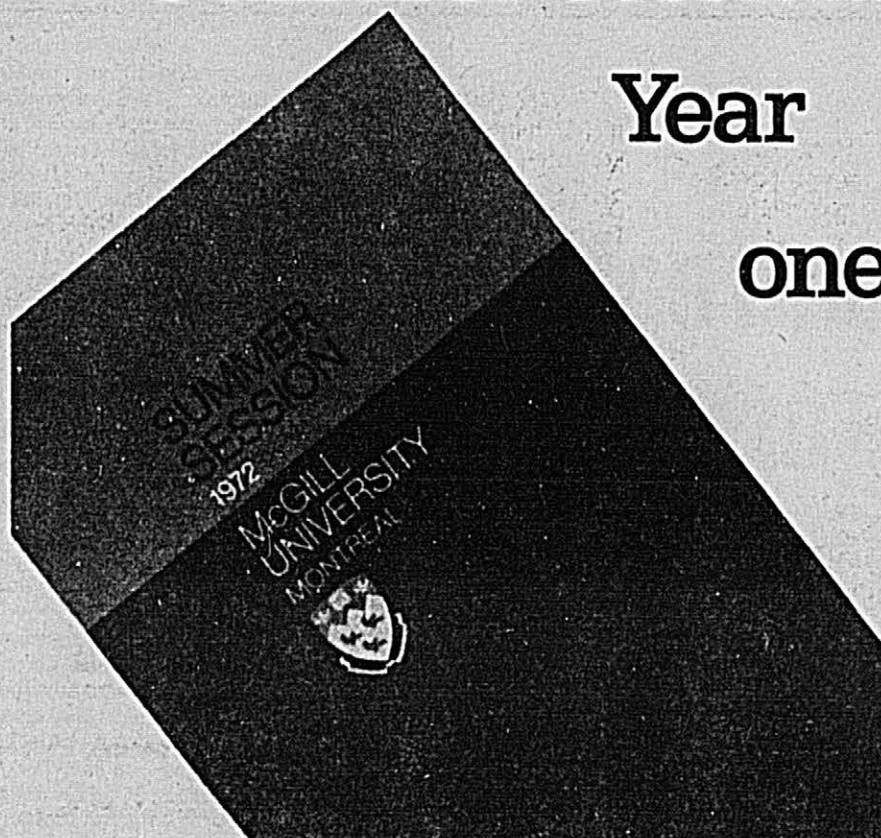
So perhaps McGill is trying to demonstrate its industriousness and efficiency to the government. Why? To qualify for more grants perhaps?

Perhaps the summer session is also meant to make money in its own right for McGill. After all, it is receiving no grants and is at least paying its own way.

One thing is certain. Making money for McGill, directly and through grants from Quebec, is something quite different from and incompatible with serving students and the community. The two purposes lead to two quite different results, as we have seen in course selection.

What, then, is the purpose of the summer session? If it is to make money, the result will probably be a limited range of courses. And if the course selection remains limited, the students' praise and criticism is apt to become just criticism. After all, 1973 is the second year.

Summer session: Year one



Montreal police beat, arrest three students on campus

by Nigel Gibson

Two weeks ago the Montreal police were on campus. They arrested three McGill students after the students resisted attempts to prevent them from distributing literature. The following editorial analysis reconstructs the events which culminated in the calling of the police on campus.

With the school year not yet begun, Principal Robert Bell and his supporting cast in the McGill administration are already finding the going tough.

Specifically, they are finding it hard to explain away the extent of their complicity in the unprovoked police invasion of the university grounds last September 5, and the subsequent arrest and savage beating of three McGill students, members of the McGill Student Movement, peacefully engaged at the time in the distribution of political literature to students and passers-by on lower campus.

One of the students, his face reduced to a bloody pulp, had to be rushed to hospital for emergency treatment and all three have been charged with "assaulting a peace officer in the performance of his duty," and face heavy jail sentences.

Although Vice Principal Stanley Frost has admitted to having set in motion the chain of events that led to the violence, the administration has consistently denied any responsibility for the police presence on campus and has blamed the whole affair on, in the words of Principal Bell, "a series of incredible accidents and unfortunate coincidences."

The McGill Student Movement on the other hand, citing a long history of administration harassment and pointing out that the police can only come onto the campus under the direct instructions of the Principal's office, has accused the administration of cooperating with the police, in "attempting to suppress the right of Communists to bring their ideas in front of the people" and participate in the forthcoming Federal elections.

The high stakes for all the parties involved has made the task of piecing together just what exactly happened that Tuesday afternoon two weeks ago a difficult one.

This much however is known. Shortly after noon on that sunny

Tuesday afternoon, as the usual lunchtime crowd moved lazily about the campus and two members of the McGill Student Movement, Ze'ev Ionis and Robert Wallace, were quietly going about the business of selling Communist literature, Vice-Principal Stanley Frost was on his way to lunch at the Faculty Club.

The Reverend Stanley B. Frost has been called a lot of things in his day. Nobody, however has been able to deny that the Vice-Principal is a consistent man. He has been a dedicated and proud reactionary all his life. His fanatical belief in the higher mission of the free enterprise system and his implacable hatred for its enemies have made him the sort of man liberals love to hate and the WASPs of upper Westmount love to hear and, in fact, often do, for he is a star on the successful businessman's sermon circuit.

With such glowing credentials, it is hardly surprising that Frost was disturbed to note, as he cut across the campus, two students busily engaged in the sale of subversive literature scarcely 100 yards from the hallowed tomb of James McGill.

So disturbed was the Vice-Principal that he went considerably out of his way to make sure that an end was put to this activity immediately.

Scuttling down to the security outpost at the Roddick Gates, Frost, according to the administration, instructed the guard to call Mr Riendeau, the McGill Security boss, and ask him to come down to the lower campus and inquire from the two students if they had permission to engage in "commercial solicitation" and, if not, to request them to leave the university grounds.

The administration was later forced to admit, under heavy questioning, that the grounds for requesting such permission were indeed highly selective and that, in fact, the university had no clear policy on the matter. On this occasion, however, they would provide Frost with a convenient instrument tailored to fit his needs.

The precise nature of the Vice-Principal's instructions to the security forces remains a closely guarded secret. Neither the administration nor their hired hands at McGill Security have been willing to discuss the details.

However, all the evidence, as shall later be shown, indicates that it was then that Frost gave the clearance for the police to be called in the event that the two

students refused to obey the directives of the McGill security men and abandon their posts on the campus.

At any rate, as he strolled off to a leisurely lunch at the plush Faculty Club, Stanley Frost must have felt quite satisfied that matters were well in hand. If the McGill security men couldn't stop them, and they probably couldn't, the police would.

The call was received in the security office but security boss Riendeau was not in. Instead the call was taken by the Assistant Superintendent of Security, Mr Lauzon, who happened to be talking at the time with two plain-clothed city detectives, there on a routine investigation. The two detectives volunteered to accompany Lauzon down to the

campus.

Once there, Lauzon asked Wallace and Ionis whether they had permission to sell material on campus. They responded that they were both McGill students and did not need permission.

Lauzon then told the students that they had five minutes to clear out of the area or he would call the police.

When both Wallace and Ionis ignored him and continued distributing their material, one of the plain-clothed men went over to his car and radioed for reinforcements.

Within minutes two squad cars were on the scene. The police then ordered the students off the campus. When they refused, they were placed under arrest.

There was a lot of pushing and shoving and, as they were being led away, a scuffle broke out.

Two policemen jumped on Ionis. One pinned him to the ground while the other knelt down by his head and very slowly and very methodically proceeded to smash his face in. When he had finished, Ionis' face was reduced to a mass of blood, which streamed down his neck to form a pool under his head.

All through the savage beating, a horrified crowd of onlookers vainly pleaded with the police to pull their men off.

A third member of the McGill Student Movement, Marsha Fine, was arrested when she tried to haul the police off Ionis by kicking at them and screaming at the top of her voice.

Ionis suffered a broken nose, two black eyes, and had his two front teeth knocked out.

All three students were

arraigned in court the next day and pleaded not guilty to charges of "assaulting a police officer in the performance of his duty." The trial date has been set for November 29.

The McGill Student Movement immediately issued a statement condemning what it termed "this fascist act of repression" and calling upon Principal Bell to clarify the role of the administration in the incident.

Bell's response was not long in coming. In a five page report to Senate, Bell completely exonerated the administration from any blame in the whole affair, and emphasised that "at no time did any member of the McGill staff, junior or senior, overtly call the police."

Bell even went so far as to put the burden of the responsibility on the battered students themselves for having failed to respond to security man Lauzon's initial inquiries with "even the most elementary level of courtesy."

Very convenient, but not really very convincing. As is the case so often, it's the little details that come back to haunt you.

Like, for instance, Assistant Security Boss Lauzon giving the students five minutes to leave the campus before calling the police. Perhaps Lauzon, obviously in a position to know that administration clearance is necessary before calling the police on campus, suddenly mustered up enough initiative to put his job on the line and take the responsibility for calling the police on campus upon himself, or stand by while his plain-clothed friends did.

Yet the same Lauzon now refuses to answer questions on the incident, claiming that he lacks authority to speak in the name of the university, and refers all inquiries to Vice-Principal Frost. "Independent" Lauzon suddenly gives the impression of being the sort of man who would ask permission before he farts. It doesn't make sense.

Unless, of course, the clearance to call the police, in the event it proved necessary, had already been phoned in by the guard at Roddick Gates, acting under direct instructions from Stanley Frost.

Also consider the fact that the administration report nowhere mentions Lauzon by name, and Vice Principal Frost privately makes it clear that the Assistant Security Chief will not be made a scapegoat.

Strange. If the administration story holds any water, making a scapegoat out of Lauzon would appear the obvious thing to do.

Unless, of course, the scapegoat was just following orders.

And finally, there is the curious sense of panic in the administration. Sources in a position to know told of Frost being summoned before Bell for a severe dressing-down, and described Bell's and Vice Principal Pedersen's attitude to Frost as "verging on the hysterical." Rather a lot of fuss over a man who, in the administration's own words, was merely carrying out a matter of routine, and could not be blamed for the "unfortunate" outcome.

Robert Bell used the word "incredible" to describe what he termed "a series of accidents" that led to the savage beating. Incredible. Yes, indeed.



daily photo by Jean-michel Joffe

The Reverend Stanley B. Frost (Vice-Principal Administration), who triggered the series of "accidents" which led to the arrival of the Montreal police on campus.

Must students lie to vote?

OTTAWA (CUP) Most university students won't be able to vote where they live while at school in the October 30 federal election, unless they lie to enumerators.

In a series of regulations quietly handed down in January, the Trudeau government amended the Elections Act in a manner likely to disperse and discourage student voters.

Full-time students attending any educational institution in Canada must now vote in the constituency from which they originated. To do this they must contact the returning officer in their home constituency to ensure that their names are on the voters lists.

If students cannot be in their home constituency for election day, they may designate a person from that constituency to cast a proxy vote. Both the student and his representative must fill out a form in triplicate.

Formerly students could either register to vote in the constituency where they resided while attending an educational institution or register in their home constituency under the old Elections Act. The voting age was 21 then, but it has since been lowered to 18.

Instructions sent out to local returning officers by the Chief Electoral Officer, J.M. Hamel, are quite explicit. Students are divided into four categories: married, unmarried living at home, unmarried living away from home, and unmarried on their own. Single students living "away from home" may not legally vote in their campus riding; they must cast their ballot in their parents' seat.

Married students and students who live "on their own" are to be enumerated in the usual manner.

"In the case of students' residence, liaison should be established by the returning officer with the appropriate officials responsible for such residences so that at the proper time, their help may be sought in determining which students, IF ANY, should be enumerated," the regulations say.

The residences referred to include university, college, private schools or nursing schools.

The government has not neglected those students who do not live in a residence.

"Enumerators should be instructed that whenever an occupant of a dwelling describes his occupation as 'student', they should ascertain which of the four basic situations applies to that person by determining the relationship of that person to the other occupants of the dwelling, if any, and the nature and duration of that person's occupancy," the regulations continue.

"Enumerators should also be

instructed that when they are informed that a 'member of the family' is away from home because he is a student, the name of that person should be included in their preliminary list even if it appears that, because of distance etc., that person will be unable to vote personally on the advance polling days or on ordinary polling day."

There is little that escapes the regulations. Even the definition of a full-time student is quite encompassing. If the enumerator or returning officer thinks the main reason a young person is away from home is to attend a school, he or she must register in the home constituency of the parents. This definition may be applied even if a student is also working and attending school part-time.

An official from the Chief Electoral Officer's department told CUP it is possible for students living away from home to vote in the

constituency in which they presently reside. But they must virtually lie to do so.

The student must tell the enumerator that she or he lives "away from home" and is completely independent of any parental support. The student must explain her or his position to the satisfaction of the enumerator or returning officer.

If the student is challenged at a poll on voting day, he or she must take an oath that she or he resides in the constituency.

The Election Act provides penalties for those who make false declarations under oath. Their vote can also be disallowed.

Observers doubt federal officials would dare take any action if a large number of students were to violate the new voting law.

Some student representatives have indicated a co-ordinated mass violation of the new regulations may be organized, espe-

cially in constituencies where thousands of students reside.

Indications are many students will be discouraged from voting because of the bureaucratic troubles involved. Those who do will likely have their vote dispersed across the country, thereby having little effect on candidates running in constituencies with a large youth vote.

The government encountered no organized resistance from students in making the changes. Canadian students have been without a national organization to represent them since the Canadian Union of Students folded in 1969. Attempts to reform a national student organization are currently underway with a founding conference scheduled for early November, probably in Ottawa. But the new union has little enthusiastic support outside western Canada.

Under the old voting regula-

tions, never tested under the lowered voting age, students could have presented a significant block of votes, which could have swung various elections. Politicians would have been forced to pay even more heed to the demands of young people.

The Trudeau Liberals may come under heavy fire for giving young people the vote with one hand, and then ensuring that many young people won't be able to exercise their newly-won right on the other.

Similar, but less tightly worded regulations were announced by the Ontario Progressive Conservative government before last October's provincial election, but province-wide opposition from students caused the Tories to backtrack, and enumerators usually took students' word as to where they considered their permanent residence to be.

Heidelberg

Brewed from pure spring water.



And that's the truth!



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To the freshmen

The University structures are like pleasure domes ingeniously erected amid a tangle of alluvial swamp-land. Needless to say, only the superstructures are attractive.

The factitious enthusiasm with which the freshmen are being welcomed today is designed to invoke in youthful minds a fantasia of hopes and ambitions. The benign McGill administration would have them believe that McGill is from all points of view an admirable institution. Whether it succeeds in getting its points across, however, is another matter. Perhaps many of the new students are already haunted by the prospect of an uncertain future. A number of them may already be anticipating the arid season of job hunting awaiting them after four years of hard work. Degrees no longer seem to guarantee a decent job. The economy continues to deteriorate. However secure, calm and cheerful university life is held out to be, fear and frustration seem to be the lot of the graduating students.

The future, however, is not for us to predict. One may, perhaps, argue that four years is too far away to weigh down our spirits. One must rather direct the attention of the newcomers to the immediate issues, for example, the harsh reality of the administration's duplicity, which permits it to attire itself in

the tolerant cloak of liberalism and, at the same time, to call the police on campus to harass and assault innocent students distributing radical literature.

Principal Bell's version of the incident was well received by the distinguished academics at last week's Senate meeting. The honourable senators seemed to flow together in a sigh of relief. Yes, "a series of incredible accidents and unfortunate coincidences" were to blame for bringing about a physical assault and the arrest of the three McGill students. To the not-so-credulous, however, and to those political activists on campus who day after day face the derision and contempt of high administrative officials, the whole incident appears neither incredible nor accidental. Quite justifiably, they interpret it as a blatant act of political repression.

Such an act of repression is not to be considered as isolated; rather, it is part of a continuous avalanche of events, an amplitude bred by a system, whose manifestation takes a variety of forms and shapes, such as the firing of radical professors, the expulsion of troublesome students, the calling of the police on campus, etc., etc. It won't take newcomers to the university long to become aware of the sad history of McGill repression.

While the administration attempts to transmit a

glorious image of McGill to the freshmen, let us, on our part, take the time to point out the depth of anti-student feeling prevalent amongst our administrators.

Only last week Vice-Principal Frost huddled together with the deans of some of the faculties on campus. The sole purpose of this meeting was to draw up plans for the undoing of the Students' Society.

Granted that the student representatives of these smaller faculties are dissatisfied with the existing structures of the Student Society. Individual faculties, if they so desire, may secede from the Society. But the issue of secession is a serious one. It is an issue that has to be publicly debated, rationally analysed, and resolved in the interest of the majority of students on campus.

The administration's meddling in the affairs of students is deplorable. Perhaps they would like to see a weakened unity amongst students. If that is so, the enthusiasm displayed in welcoming the new students is only contrived. The University administration, in all honesty, must tell us a great deal more about the real nature of this august institution.

Nesar Ahmad

letters

Program yourself in

Dear Sir,

An ancient Chinese produced the only unalterable truth known to man: "This too shall pass away", and saved his neck thereby. I am attempting to save your neck and help you pass away with a second unalterable truth: "Don't take anything for granted." At home you may be the firstborn and ruler of the roost, the one in the middle used to being ignored or the baby of the brood. Here you are only a name, a bunch of letters on a print-out, 1/nth or so of McGill's student population.

DO NOT assume we know you are here.

DO NOT assume we have a record of your existence.

DO NOT assume that the Profs know you are enrolled in and/or attending their class.

DO NOT assume the Profs know that you are NOT enrolled in and/or NOT attending their class.

DO NOT assume that the Records Office knows that you have changed course and/or section.

DO NOT assume, after you have received your transcript, that anyone can back you up if you ignore 1-5.

DO make your presence known. If you are doing your work and attending class, make sure your Prof., your classmate, your advisor, even, so help me, your departmental secretary, know about it. Keep your work. Make copies.

If you want marks without work, make at least one memorable appearance before someone, anyone, from the above-mentioned group.

I don't know which is the sadder sight—the face of the student whose Prof. didn't know he/she existed, or the face of the Prof who had to admit he didn't know a student was in his class.

PLEASE DO NOT DEPEND ON THE SYSTEM. PROGRAM

YOURSELF IN.

This advice is addressed solely to that invisible minority that surfaces in May and spends most of the summer trying to chase up marks.

A Working Member of the McGill Establishment

Bobby and Stan and Mitch and Walden

Dear Daily:

Welcome back. I thought for a while that you were going to drop out and go somewhere else. But I see that you have been good and have decided to come back. Maybe we can have lunch together some time.

Remember Bobby Bell? Well, he went to Europe and Amerika this summer with his parents. Stan (the Man) Frost is coming back to McGill, but not as a student. However, as you know, he has a profound interest in the

plight of the student and is going to work as some sort of liaison officer between the administration and students. He'll really shake the ol' place up, if I know him like I think I do.

One sad note: Mitch Oliver has left and gone to Carleton for post-grad work in French Canada studies. He's going to come back on weekends for the movies and the rock shows.

Well, that's about all. See you when I do.

Brewfully yours,
Dentistry Walden

The Daily regularly provides space on its editorial page for letters from its readers. Correspondents are requested to be brief and to the point, and to refrain from personal slander. The Daily reserves the right not to print any letter submitted, and to edit letters for length. All letters must be typed, double-spaced, on one side of the page only.

A Conversation with the Principal

Robert E. Bell, formerly a McGill professor of Physics, has been Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University since 1970. He was interviewed two weeks ago for the Daily by Editor-in-Chief Nesar Ahmad and Supplement Editor Nigel Gibson. The edited version of this conversation covers a wide range of topics: education, politics, and society.

Daily: In a couple of weeks time you will be addressing the new students and welcoming them to the university. What can you tell them to realistically look forward to during the next few years, with the university in a period of changing relationships with the Quebec Government and with the stark reality of unemployment staring them in the face?

Bell: How high is this degree of unemployment?

Daily: In Quebec it oscillates around the 8 percent mark, seasonally adjusted of course.

Bell: Amongst university graduates?

Daily: We don't know the exact figures. The figures, however, are high and they do not take into account the large number of graduates who are employed in occupations that make little use of the skills developed over long years of university schooling.

Bell: I don't know what I would say to the freshmen. But I think I would say in general, that for quite a few years we have been attaching too much vocational stress to university attendance. This is a tendency that usually originates with the clientele of the University and with the people outside; you wouldn't find professors of English, for example, taking this point of view. But people come expecting the University to be a kind of certifying agent for a job. Universities themselves have never really, except in some professional faculties, have never really regarded themselves as that. Education is not supposed to be primarily vocational training. The fact that a person has, say, studied some English literature, that does not make it a tragedy if he is not employed in the act of doing something with English literature. In fact, it makes him a broader and more self-satisfying person even if he turns out to be a stockbroker or train operator.

Daily: Since its very inception, McGill has been oriented towards the sciences, reflecting the needs of the businessmen who through the years invested their money in the university. Some people have suggested that this trend is irreversible and that McGill will not long be able to resist governmental pressure to become merely a technical and managerial college. Do you accept this argument?

Bell: No, I think that the Arts and Humanities side of the university is stronger now than it used to be. I see that continuing and perhaps



daily photos by harold rosenberg

growing—but in any case continuing...

Daily: The visible expansion of the faculty of management in the light of the Reseau report with its recommendations for reshaping the university to fit in with the economic plans of the Quebec government is an issue of great concern to many students.

Bell: What is it you're talking about, what is going to happen?

Daily: Students are worried that the Quebec government may soon be in a position to dictate to students indirectly what they may take and what they may not take by allocating funds only to those areas of the university that are instrumental in developing a managerial class that it requires to look after the interests of American investment in the province.

Bell: Well, I have been one of the most vocal people speaking out against the Reseau Report, if you have noticed. In speeches I have said that the biggest danger I see in government planning is to regard the university as a production mechanism, producing so many units of something or other, that are needed for such and such a use. This is a big danger for all universities today. You know, they ask what use can studies in English literature for example be. You are talking about bringing satisfaction to individuals and it's hard to hang dollar signs on it... This mode of thinking is something you have got to resist.

Daily: But why does this tendency exist? Is it just a mode of thinking or is it an outcome of actual, concrete, social conditions?

Bell: Well, I think it is both. Picture yourself as a member of the National Assembly and the educational cost is going up. It is the largest single item in the budget, and at least until recently it had the largest rate of increase

of any single item on the budget. You know there is a favourite old joke about extrapolating the educational cost for a few years and it intersects the gross national product. No one really believes it is going to continue on that course. But then you have to say, well, we have to plan educational expenses over the bounds of what we need and what we can really afford as a member of the National Assembly.

Daily: But who determines the need? Who decides that the money spent here, on research in science and management for example, is actually serving the

needs of the majority of the people and not just those of the privileged few. The question of determining priorities in allocations is crucial here.

Bell: Yes, to what extent should governments, university administrators, or university staffers try to plan the shape of the university? And to what extent should the shape of the university be determined by what the incoming students want? This is a good question. There has to be some kind of compromise on this, I think.

Daily: You mention the government on one hand, and the students on the other. What about

the interests of the Quebec people who foot the bulk of the education bill? What do they stand to gain from the decision of the University to follow the lead of the government and increase the size of the management faculty?

Bell: Let's get it straight, there has been no lead from the government to increase the management faculty. We have two different categories of faculty in respect of student demands. There are the ones where student demand exceeds our capacities, and that applies to medicine, law. I think, in the past it applied to medicine and engineering; it certainly does not apply to engineering now. It does apply to the social work, library, nursing, and physical and occupational therapy schools. I guess these are the main ones.

The other faculties generally speaking can take in the qualified students that apply, and their expansion or contraction is essentially determined by how many qualified students do apply. In other words it is a supply and demand thing. If somebody comes along, a prospective student who wants to take so and so, what are you supposed to say to him? "No, I know better than you. You are not to take this or that." Well, I don't believe in that. I don't know anybody who does.

Daily: It should be fairly obvious that the determining factors affecting a student's choice of faculty or occupation are the changing needs and demands of the society in which he lives. At the present time U.S. monopoly capitalists are seeking to expand their operations in the province. They need home-grown talent to manage their businesses for them, and the Quebec government is determined to give them just that.

Bell: Do you or don't you think that it is in the interests of the Quebec people to have a bigger managerial stake in what goes on in Quebec? If so, do you not think that it is therefore necessary to have schools of management?

Daily: I don't think that it is in the interests of the majority of the Quebec people, the working class, to finance a faculty dedicated to the perpetuation of the capitalist system of exploitation, and to producing a small class of managers to aid U.S. capital in its plunder of the natural resources of the province.

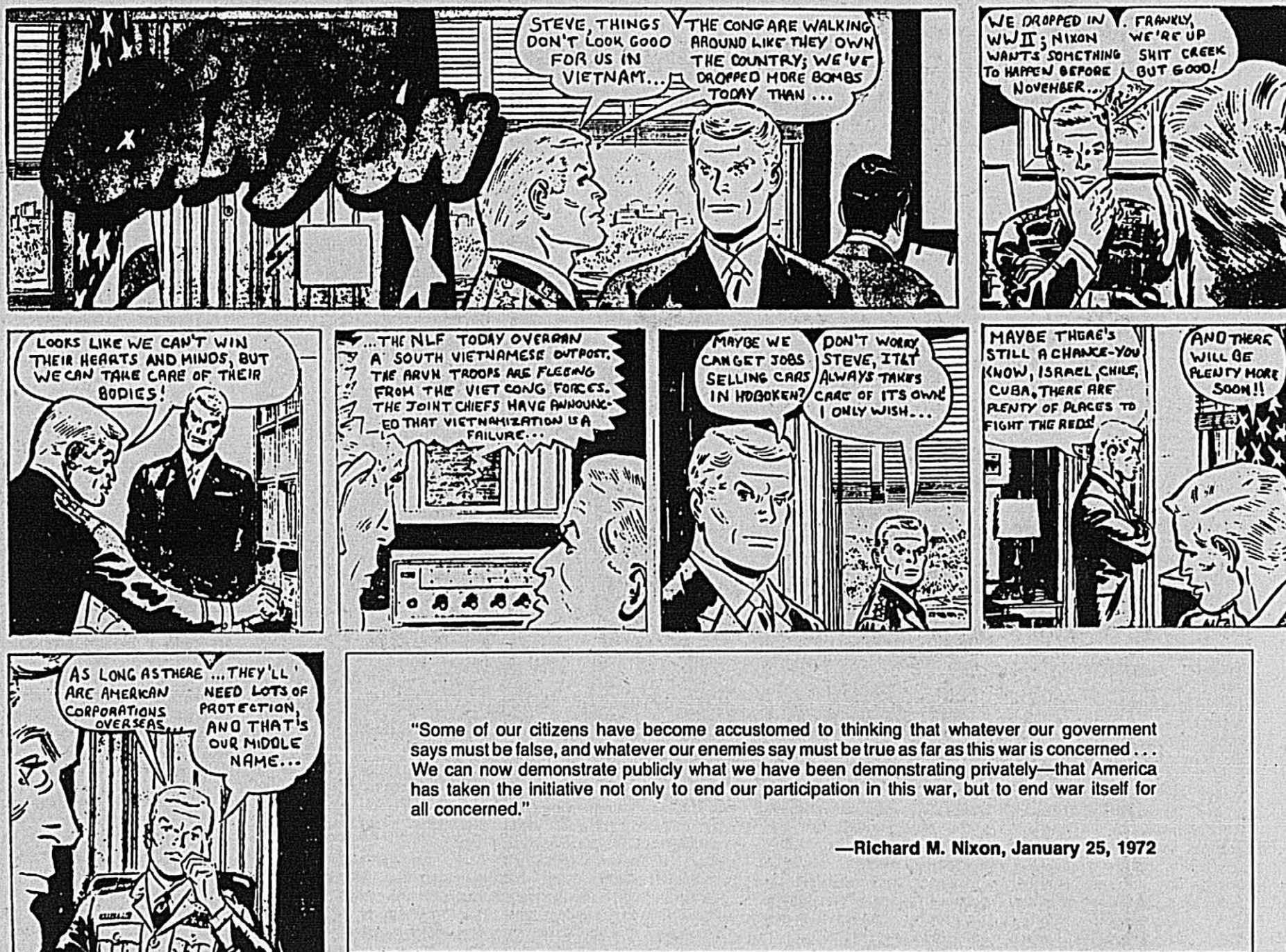
Bell: What are you really saying? Is it that the wrong students are going to management? Or that management should not be there? It has got to be there I think, definitely. If these are the kind of jobs that need training, then it's got to be there.

Daily: What we are saying is that the majority of the people in Quebec are not served by the



continued on page 10

Liberated Comix: Episode One



Bell...

continued from page 9

existence of such faculties as Management. We are questioning the basic anti-people orientation of education in this society. Defence projects, of course, are common examples of this.

Bell: What defence projects?

Dally: Research into counterinsurgency and more refined methods of mass murder.

Bell: At McGill?

Dally: At universities across North America generally. Many of which are heavily subsidized by governments for defence related research...

Bell: The Canadian government?

Dally: Yes, the Canadian government too. Also much of this research done in Canadian universities has been linked directly to the Pentagon. If you want I can produce documentary evidence.

Bell: Oh, you don't have to. There is a list with descriptions of every research project at McGill in deposit at the library.

Dally: The point is, do you or don't you recognize the fact that education serves particular interests and particular needs rather than the general needs of the people.

Bell: Well, give me an example of a faculty that would serve the general needs of the people.

Dally: The whole point is that there is none. And there can never be one in this society with the university controlled by and run for the particular interests of the ruling bourgeois class.

Bell: I just don't accept that...

I think it's true that in general in this wicked capitalist society people that go through the university emerge better qualified than when they went in. No doubt there's been a lot of discrimination about who went and didn't go, but a lot of the apparent discrimination lies in the fact that people are in an advantageous position after they come out and therefore are seen to be privileged—and sure they're privileged. Therefore they occupy higher places in society than they otherwise would have. I'm sure this is at least as true in Russia, and I'd be very surprised if it wasn't true in China. I don't know what kind of society it wouldn't be true in, since the object of the university is to upgrade people either in their general outlook, or their specifically vocational aspects or whatever. The fact that the people who come out of the university are weighted towards the more

privileged, more able, whatever you like, segment of society, is that not why the university is there?

Dally: Your argument is only valid within the framework of a capitalist society. There is absolutely no basis for drawing an analogy between the role of the university in a socialist society, such as China, and the role of the capitalist university. In China the university student combines mental and physical labour and integrates fully with the peasants and workers. His university training does not grant him any special privileges, except the privilege of being able to serve the people and his country better. In a capitalist society, on the other hand, the university graduate is not encouraged to integrate with the working people, and is thus unable to understand the needs and deep aspirations of the majority class, upon whom in the last analysis, everything in our society depends. So it's a matter of our university serving very narrow interests, and disguising its function by claiming to be working for the greater good of everybody.

Bell: Naturally, I don't agree with any of this. What would be the conduct of a university in a more idealized society? One more ideal

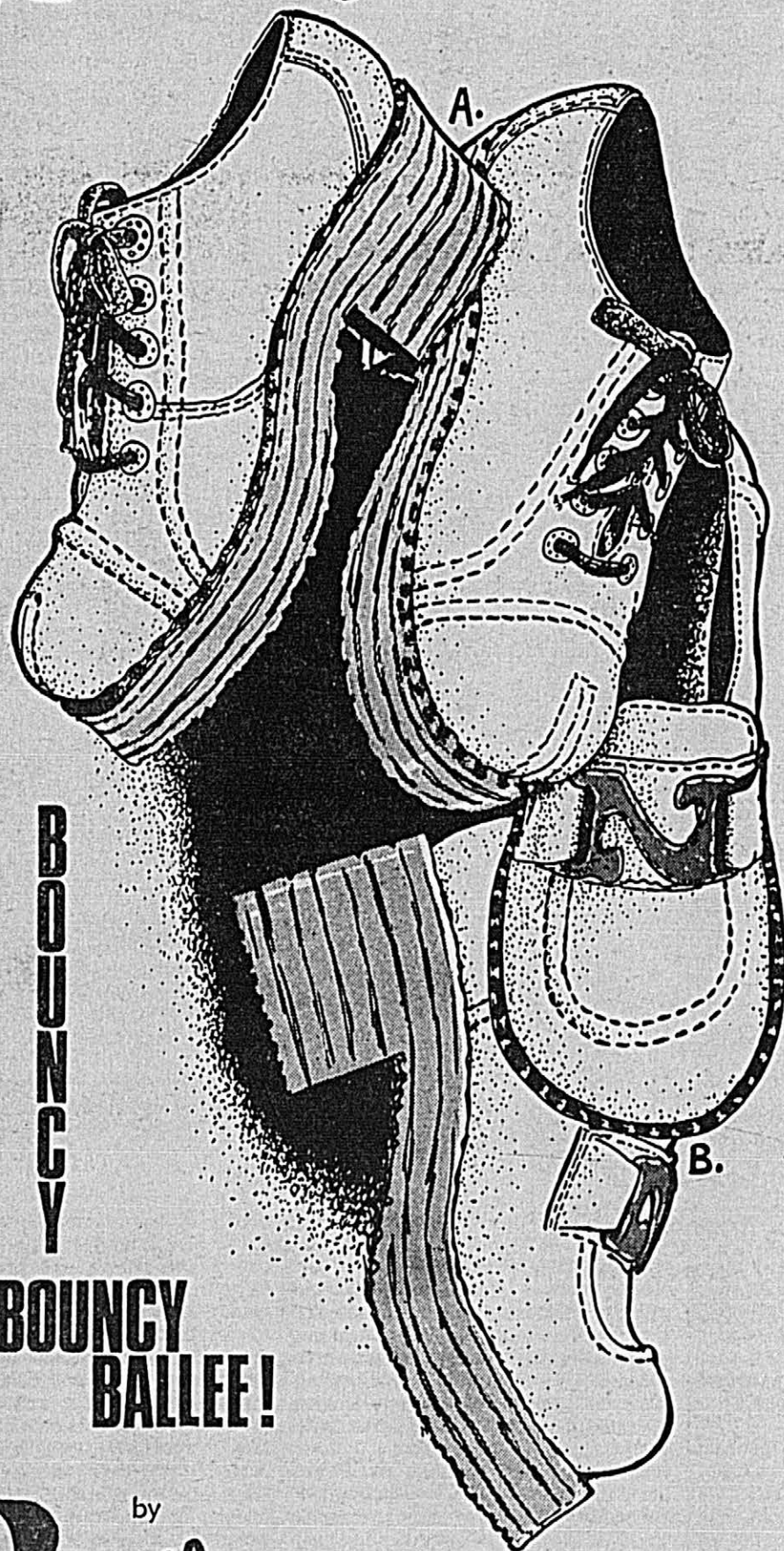
from your point of view?

Dally: It would be oriented to serving the real needs of the people rather than the narrow goals of profit, the dynamic of the capitalist system, whose selfish attitudes condition our education. This is of course particularly true in faculties such as Management. Bell: How much do you know about the outlook in the Faculty of Management? How many lectures in the Faculty of Management have you attended? How many close friends do you have in the Faculty of Management? Dally: We are dealing with the purposes of and general principles behind the Faculty of Management. I think you'll agree that the basic purpose of the Faculty of Management is to train people in the business of increased production and profit maximization. Courses such as Industrial Psychology use psychological techniques to manipulate workers into producing more, again in the interests of higher profits.

Bell: Is that right?

Dally: Well, what do you think? Bell: Well, I don't know, but I am willing to say I don't know. I think that you should be willing to say you don't know. I can take the title of any course and distort it to mean anything I like...

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by Kirk Stevens

When the English teachers threw in their lot with the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec (CEQ) during the Common Front strike last spring, it was a little hard for me to visualize a certain industrial arts teacher in my former high school going along with all of this "radical nonsense" and especially with its personification in the satanic-mythical figure of Michel Chartrand. He used to claim that he kept an axe in his car to "keep the separatists away." I wondered what a former history teacher thought about sitting at home while a "small coterie of communists went about ruining the schools." He used to give his own "biological" version of the history of Quebec—it wasn't the version found in *Building the Canadian Nation* nor was it the version of the *Patriot's Handbook*. And then there was the English teacher who came to school dressed in the same way as when she taught my mother in 1939.

It was my old high school, I'm proud to say, which also produced the man who organized the reaction against the "goon-squad" tactics of the Montreal Teachers' Association and told Donald Peacock (the fiendish NDP agitator) that some of Québec's English Protestant teachers "haven't come a long way, baby."

Gordon Panchuk is another of my old memories. He is presently engaged in setting up an association of Montreal teachers who didn't go along with the "nonsense" and who especially do not like the MTA's post-strike attempts to discipline those members who defied the strike call. I remember him addressing a Remembrance Day assembly in 1967 on the theme of how much "further Canada had come during 100 years of Confederation than the USSR had come in 50 years since the Revolution."

The English Protestant teacher in Montreal and Quebec has a world view which almost defies analysis. That the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers actually took the step of walking out at the same time as other government employees does indicate that since my high school days things have changed, and that a significant number have "come a long way" in terms of perceiving, however dimly, their place in Quebec society. It indicates that they no longer see every issue through a set of goggles which polarize questions into a racist French-English dichotomy.

But if they have come a long way, they still have a long way to go. In many respects valid concerns of this very unique group are still being twisted into a morass of confusion which prevents serious discussion on the most vital problems of education and society.

One of the reasons for this phenomenon is the class position of teachers of both language groups. As petit bourgeois (for lack of a better term) they are in the dual position of having legitimate gripes against the system over such issues as salaries, working conditions and (for some independent-thinking souls) even their relationship with their students and the curriculum and attitudes they are supposed to teach. At the same time, their function is to indoctrinate their charges with the attitudes that are demanded for "success" in a capitalist society. To be blunt, it is not in a teacher's immediate interest to develop ideas that challenge society and education-as-it-is in a fundamental way. Although teachers perceive that things are wrong, for bread-and-butter reasons they dare not challenge themselves to the point of developing a radical critique of the way things are, let alone standing up actively to fight.

Whatever the general level of "dedication" of teachers in this province there are a few teachers around (even in the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal) who do care about what they are doing and who are finding their profession increasingly frustrating in terms of the less tangible rewards that come from imparting knowledge to growing human beings. For example, most teachers do not like working in the monstrosity that is called the polyvalent high school. They recognize

that the bureaucratic control and over-centralization of recent years is taking away whatever contact they had with their pupils. They condemn this trend but cannot, indeed dare not, investigate why this society would give birth to such humanly absurd structures, and how such institutions fit into a wider pattern of exploitation.

Their ambivalent and dependent economic position is also behind the totally ineffectual attitude they have to the "drug problem". They see that precious little learning is going on in classrooms but will only consider patch-up solutions, such as "drug education," or conscious promotion of "school spirit" or more rigid discipline.

With English-speaking teachers these basic problems and contradictions are further compounded by the fact that they occur in a context where they are so easily distorted by the language question. The dissatisfaction with over-centralization, which is a North American education problem, is seen as "Quebec" against the English-speaking minority. It is seen as a case of the "French wanting to hold back our kids because they're so far behind" in terms of so-called progressive education techniques, school equipment, etc.

This image of so-called progressive education, so assiduously cultivated by the PSBGM is, of course, a sham. Audio-visual equipment doth not a school make, and even at that, very little educational technology ever reaches "inner city" schools. Except for public relations pur-

poses, sending out questionnaires to parents on dress or on censorship of school newspapers does not mean anything either in terms of socially "relevant" education, let alone socially honest education.

Attitudes in the PSBGM and among many teachers have not changed much since the days when it was common to whisper about "priest-ridden Catholic schools" and to believe that "ours" were so enlightened. Now the attitude is that they are so far behind but that they shouldn't drag "our kids" down; after all, it's "their fault" if they were "dragged down by the Catholic Church." In English Protestant circles, "progressive education" has a rather interesting meaning.

The history of these attitudes is a long one and can only be understood if an attempt is made to see education within the total fabric of Quebec society.

The educational system in Quebec was forged during the heyday of Anglo-Canadian exploitation of Quebec's natural and human resources. The method of financing education in Quebec by the property tax was born in the early nineteenth century. School commissions were established on the parish and diocesan level and were financed by the property holders in the area. Office holding on these commissions was the prerogative of a select group who made sure that the schools indoctrinated their pupils with the proper attitudes. Although this system was state-run, parents had to pay school fees even

for primary education until into the twentieth century.

Secondary education during the Depression of the 1930's cost eight dollars per month per child; many weekly salaries were less than this. A teacher's monthly salary in this period averaged about 30 dollars per week; in some areas it was as low as five dollars.

The school commissions, run by men who had very little interest in education for the masses, we're constantly trying to cut costs in order to keep the taxes of the propertied classes they represented at minimal levels. This attitude, of course, was reflected both in the quality of teaching and in the salaries of teachers. It was not unusual to find illiterates as school teachers in nineteenth century Quebec; the usual qualification was a primary school certificate. Salaries were uniformly low, even in times of prosperity. In nineteenth century Quebec even household domestics earned more. Under public pressure and at the insistence of the teachers' corporations, the Quebec Legislative Assembly in 1897 was on the verge of legislating a \$100 per year minimum wage for teachers. Even that paltry concession was thwarted by the school commissions.

The first teachers' organizations in Quebec were founded in the 1830's, but they did not have much continuity or any power until after World War I. The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers (PAPT) has been in continuous existence since 1864 but not until well into the twentieth century did it take on the function of protecting its members from the vagaries of the economy in any effective way. At its inception it was mainly concerned with "professional" matters, and if it did concern itself with social issues, it was with matters such as the prohibition of alcohol or decrying the effects of tobacco.

In fact, the PAPT was not really an organization in which teachers exercised effective control. The guiding forces at its founding and for years afterward were men like Principal Dawson of McGill who, although undoubtedly concerned with education, had definite ideas about what interests public instruction should serve and what the content of that education should be. These Scots gave the Protestant educational system its so-called "progressive" tinge in that they, more than their Catholic counterparts, stressed the value of scientific and vocational training to fulfill the needs of the Anglo-Canadian-controlled industrial sector of Quebec society.

The same men who gave McGill its initial orientation towards serving the needs of the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie also left their imprint on the lower levels of Anglophone instruction in Quebec. For a long time, their prerogatives were written into the constitution of the PAPT: the Superintendent of Protestant education in Quebec had a veto over the corporation's resolutions.

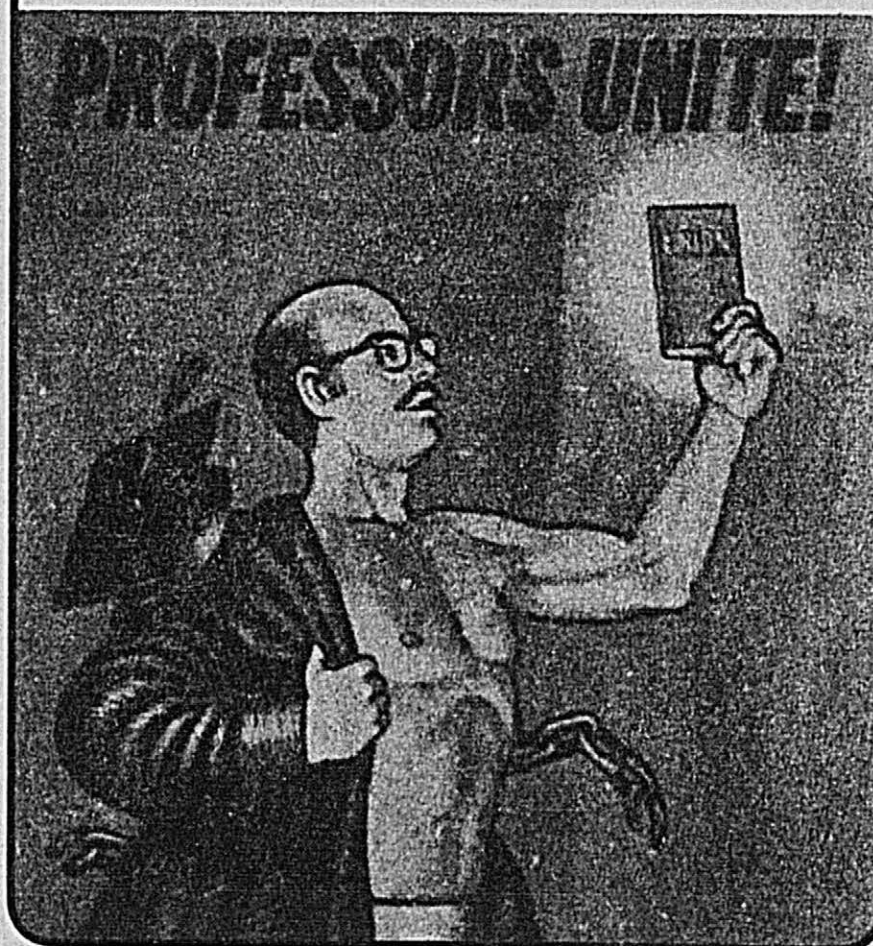
The French-language unions also suffered from this type of paternalism. One of the earliest genuine attempts to organize from the base was, interestingly but naturally enough, undertaken in the 1840's by the women teachers in the French Catholic schools. They, of all the teachers, had the most to complain about.

It was not until industrialization in Quebec passed a certain critical level of growth that the powers-that-were took public education seriously. Until more and more skills were needed to fulfill the demands of a growing technology, the ruling class and its instrument, the Quebec government, allowed the public school system to languish in every imaginable sort of inefficiency. Such a policy of non-benign neglect matched perfectly the government's periodic advertising, for foreign investment, which extolled the cheapness of Quebec labour.

Consequently the social status of teachers, especially the Francophones, was not high on any scale. Partly because children were needed on the farm and partly because even the urban upper classes had no real interest in the matter, the passage of a compulsory education law

Quebec teachers:

A little red in the schoolhouse



was delayed until 1943. In this respect, Quebec lagged behind every other Canadian province and most areas of the Western world. It was not until 1964 that Quebec finally decided to try to implement a coherent educational policy and to grant this area the status of a ministry.

It was only during the Great Depression that teachers first really began to conceive of their corporations as instruments of economic resistance rather than as "professional" bodies and lobbies for educational improvement. At various times and in various places, they won the right to collective bargaining. But this was only a *privilege* that was revoked by the Duplessis government in 1946 and then secured again in 1959.

Overall, during the Depression, teachers managed to resist some wage cuts, but they were still far from being able to protect themselves as they were denied the right to strike or even to propose arbitration by third parties in their disputes with school commissions.

It was partly to attain the right to arbitration that the Alliance des Professeurs de Montréal conducted Québec's first real teachers' strike in 1946, an unproductive six-day affair that was confined to the island of Montreal. It was also not until 1946 that the province's Catholic Francophone teachers grouped themselves under one confederal syndicate, the Corporation Générale des Instituteurs et Institutrices Catholiques de la Province de Québec. This body was reorganized for the purpose of homogeneity and became the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec in 1966.

Education in Quebec began to undergo some profound organizational changes with the so-called Quiet Revolution, the ouster in 1960 of the Union Nationale by the Lesage Liberals. It had become increasingly clear to the ruling class that the hitherto haphazard exploitation of Quebec needed organization.

When the economic needs of the system demanded highly skilled labour instead of illiterate wage slaves, it became clear that education would have to be organized on a uniform and effective basis. Rising costs of instruction required that the central government take over much of school financing. Local school commissions, supported by the property owners and the petite bourgeoisie could not maintain a system geared to the voracious appetites of the large corporations who now owned Quebec. In 1960-61 the average cost per pupil of one year of education was \$267. By 1964 it was over \$400. The province footed 30 per cent of the educational bill in the fifties; by the mid-1960's its share had zoomed to 60 per cent.

In 1964 the Lesage government set up a Department of Education under Paul Gérin-Lajoie to begin the task of centralization. One of the main reasons for the defeat of the Liberal government in 1966 was the reaction of ultra-conservatives in rural areas to educational policy. They elected a Union Nationale government under Daniel Johnson that pledged to "forge ahead", but more slowly (and "keep the crucifix in the classroom"). But not long after the election this government, realizing that "progress" and U.S. imperialism don't wait for anyone, began to centralize education in a most autocratic and hasty manner.

In 1966 Quebec offered the financially shaky school commissions a plan whereby it would assume their deficits on condition that the Department would have more control of expenditures on the commission level. Many commissions had no alternative but to accept and thereby became little more than instruments of the Department.

On October 14, 1966 the government notified the school commissions that it would enter directly into the field of contract negotiations and that it would set a maximum level for salaries in all teacher classifications. These "guidelines" were province-wide and ignored regional disparities, as well as the fact that more than 30,000 contracts were then under negotiation with about 300 local boards. They also "overlooked" the fact that some teachers

were already earning more than the "guidelines" stipulated.

Faced with an intransigent government the teachers in the CEQ, the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers and the PAPT began an orchestrated public relations campaign and organized a series of demonstrations outside the legislature and a wave of rotating strikes.

The government then passed the infamous Bill 25 which abrogated the teachers' right to strike (granted by the Quebec Labour Code of 1965) and set up negotiations on a province-wide scale for the first time. After a one day symbolic strike, the teachers trudged back to the classrooms.

"Trudged back" is exactly what occurred. Unable to fully comprehend the exploitative nature of Quebec society, many teachers, especially the Protestants, took their frustrations out on the public and the students, often in petty ways like refusing to supervise extracurricular activities. They subscribed to the myth that the government of Quebec had something to do with the people; if the government refused their (just) demands, then somehow it was the public's fault for not recognizing "how important to our society teachers are."

Needless to say, the government was heartbroken over the kids who couldn't play a few football games, and it really gave a damn about unpleasant classroom conditions. But meanwhile, many teachers in the CEQ were realizing that not only did a few things stink in the state of Denmark but that "Denmark" was rotten to the core.

During the crisis, the Confederation of National Trade Unions offered its support to the CEQ, which gladly accepted it. Within the CEQ political committees were set up and members began to grope towards a more comprehensive analysis of society. The CEQ began to submit briefs to government commissions on phenomena such as poverty, which were not "directly" related to education. By the 1968 congress, the CEQ had developed a conception of itself as a "progressive pressure group" in a pluralist society, and preoccupied itself with such matters as structures, "ability to adapt," "flexibility of response," "consultation at the base" and "planning."

But some elements within the CEQ were already transcending a pluralist vision of society. In the CEQ publication, *Action Pédagogique*, for example, liberal and pluralist views are not the only ones which appear.

Like the CNTU, the CEQ is going through a period of ferment. It has transcended "bread-and-butter trade unionism" but its political analysis of Quebec and of the role of teachers' unions is still in an amorphous and rudimentary stage.

The contractual relationship between the teachers and the government has not altered much in the past six years. It took 27 months for the government and the teachers to arrive at a contract after the crisis of 1966-67. The present contract negotiations have been going on for 18 months, and at present the teachers have little hope that a contract will be worked out before October 15, the latest deadline after which the government will legislate a "solution" to its perennial public service impasse.

The impasse at the bargaining table has causes which are global in nature. The Quebec government, like all governments in the capitalist world, is caught on the fine edge between inflation and stagnation. Unwilling to impose corporation taxes for fear of a drop in general investment (and campaign funds), and unable to increase the general tax rate drastically for fear of a recession, the government feels that it cannot acquiesce to the salary demands of teachers and other public employees.

Furthermore, under federalism, Quebec does not control the fiscal and monetary tools it needs. Thus, general economic conditions like inflation are uncontrollable variables, and an inflationary increase in salaries cannot be offset by the use of other economic "tools."

Whether a Quebec government which had the tools which enabled it to pursue

a totally integrated economic and social policy would be able to solve the contradictions of the system is beyond the scope of this analysis. But I would suggest that such a policy would have to be *integrative* in a total sense, and the result would be disastrous in human terms.

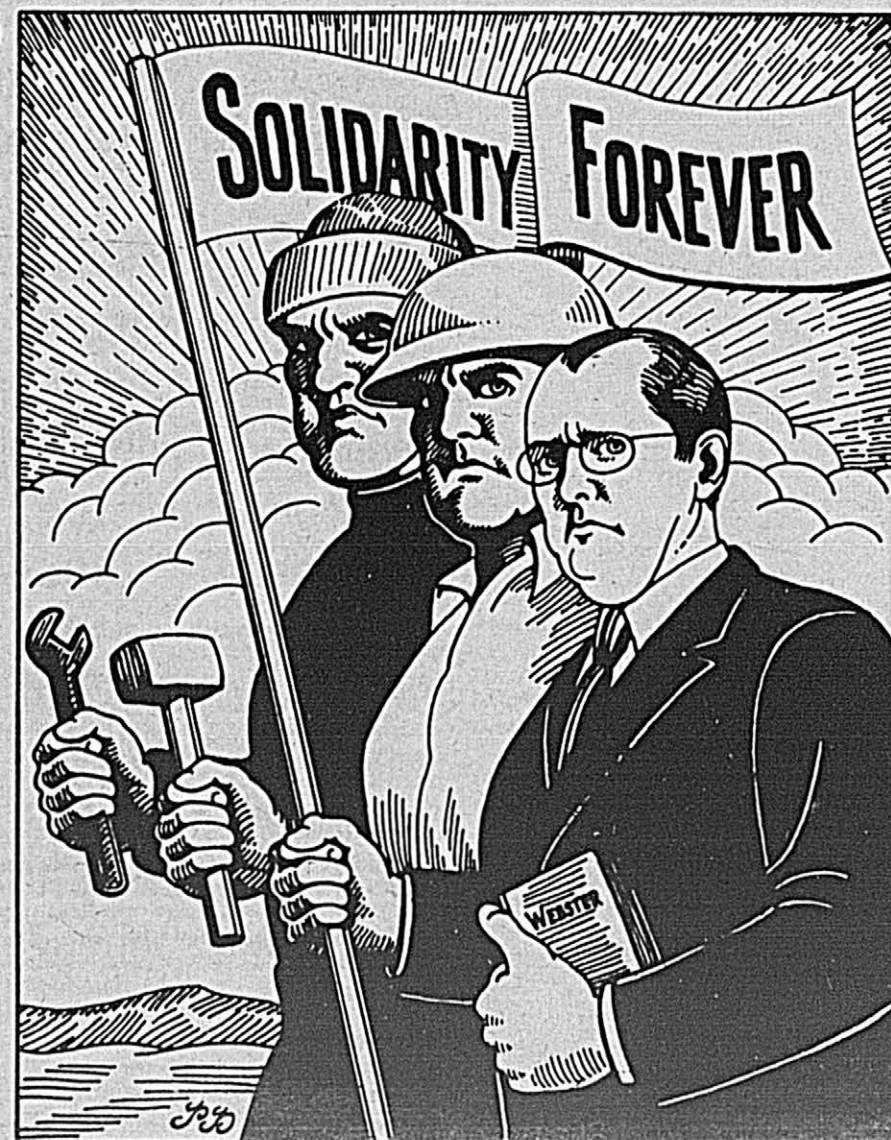
For its part, the Quebec government is groping to such a solution, as is evidenced from its demands for control over social welfare and from the 1971 Réseau Report's technocratic dream of totally integrating education and manpower needs. Such a total rationalization, if it were to work, would perhaps mean the transcendence of capitalism by a totalitarian control of most aspects of life.

Perhaps the Clockwork Orange-like logic of it all ultimately goes like this: Various economic factors make the huge polyvalent high school necessary. The only thing wrong with the polyvalent high school is that it encourages apathy, reduces human contact and ultimately is educationally inefficient. The "solution" then might be to develop psychological techniques and even automatic surveillance to make the students imbibe the information needed to "fit in". Perhaps the government will legalize dope and offer it as a prize for high grades.

If the outward aspects of negotiations and the nature of the economic variables have not changed that much since 1966, what has been percolating in the minds of teachers has been significant.

For the PAPT to join a Common Front strike was unthinkable in 1966. Perhaps there is room for optimism that the diversionary language issue is diminishing as a serious barrier between those who have common problems. Gordon Panchuk has not succeeded in attracting hordes of reactionary old ladies and sergeant-major types. On the other side of the language fence the Québec working class and the trade unions are not enamoured of the "exploitation en français" option for Québec.

The first steps in a long, difficult and uncertain journey have perhaps been made. They may have been made almost unconsciously because of the contract negotiations. Hopefully, however, once a few steps have been taken there will be little desire to go back.





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